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THE LIBYAN PERIOD IN EGYPT
HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL STUDIES
INTO THE 21TH – 24TH DYNASTIES:
PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE AT LEIDEN UNIVERSITY,
25-27 OCTOBER 2007

G.P.F. BROEKMAN, R.J. DEMARÉE and O.E. KAPER (eds.)



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THE GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF THE “BUBASTITE” DYNASTY AND POSSIBLE LOCATIONS
FOR THE ROYAL RESIDENCE AND BURIAL PLACE OF SHOSHENQ I

*Troy Leiland Sagrillo**

Introduction

Unlike many of the other historical problems concerning the Libyan period, the foundation of Dynasty 22 and its origins are generally regarded as clear. The Great Chief of the Meshwesh, Chief of Chiefs, Shoshenq B, who hailed from the region of Bubastis, married his son Osorkon to the daughter of the reigning king, Psusennes II. Upon the death of Psusennes II, the Libyan chief peacefully assumed the throne of Egypt as Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq I, founding Dynasty 22, the “Bubastite” dynasty. Some time after his ascension, the new king moved his residence from Bubastis to rule from the environs of Tanis (if not Tanis itself), where he eventually died and was presumably buried. So goes the narrative found in most studies of the period.¹

This paper aims to call into question three key facets of this narrative, that Dynasty 22 originated at Bubastis; that Shoshenq I resided at, and ruled from, Tanis; and that he was likewise buried at Tanis. While several of the conclusions offered here will of necessity remain tentative due to a lack of conclusive proof, it is hoped that they will provoke further examination of these questions, and demonstrate that the *communis opinio* is perhaps open to revision.

The geographic origin of the “Bubastite” Dynasty

On the authority of Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca*, Dynasty 22 is known as the “Bubastite Dynasty” due to his claim that the dynasty originated at Bubastis, modern Tell Basta.² This claim goes basically unchallenged and is widely accepted as being axiomatic. However, it is notable that other than the testimony of Manetho, there is little evidence to bolster the argument that Dynasty 22 in fact *originated* at the site. This is not to intimate that the dynasty paid no interest whatsoever to Tell

* This paper is derived in part from the author’s 2006 doctoral dissertation completed at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven entitled *The reign of Shoshenq the First of the Egyptian Twenty-second Dynasty*; it will be formally published as *The reign of Shoshenq I: Textual and historical analyses*. The author would like to thank dra. María del Carmen Pérez Die for the material she provided to him concerning the work of the Spanish mission to Ehnasya el-Medina, as well as a prepublication draft of her contribution to this volume. Prof. Dr. Karl Jansen-Winkel is also thanked for an offprint of his *Orientalia* 75 (2006) article, “Die Libyer in Herakleopolis magna,” which was unavailable to the author before he presented his findings in Leiden (October 2007). The version of the paper published here has improved measurably in thanks to the assistance of these two scholars, as well as the constructive critique offered by several of the conference participants.

¹ Typical examples are N.-C. Grimal, *A history of ancient Egypt* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1997), 319, 322; J.H. Taylor, “The Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BC).” In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. I. Shaw, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 335; K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*. 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Limited, [1996]), §§ 239–240.

² W.G. Waddell, ed., *Manetho*, Loeb 350 (London and Cambridge: William Heinemann Ltd. and Harvard University Press, 1940), 158, 160; F. Jacoby, *Geschichte von Staedten und Voelkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*. Section C: *Autoren ueber einzelne Laender, Nr. 608a–856*; Part 1, *Aegypten–Geten Nr. 608a–708*. FGrHist 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), 44–47.

Basta – the building programs of Osorkon I³ and Osorkon II⁴ certainly demonstrate otherwise – but outside of the temple precinct, there is little presence of significant material that can be associated with the early period of the dynasty’s foundation.

In the case of Shoshenq I, materials that can be associated with his reign and originating at Tell Basta or the immediate vicinity include only a quartzite relief, now in Edinburgh [Royal Museum 1967.2],⁵ and perhaps a limestone block with two partial cartouches.⁶ A granodiorite fragment from Tell el-Maskhuta with the cartouches of Shoshenq I⁷ may have originally come from Tell Basta, given that Tell el-Maskhuta was not (re)inhabited until Dynasty 26 and stone building material was brought in from neighboring sites.⁸ Finally, a limestone lintel discovered at Tell Basta that was once suggested to be a joint work of Psusennes II and Shoshenq I⁹ is now assigned to Tut-kheper-Re Shoshenq Iib.¹⁰

Despite the weight of Manetho’s testimony, the Middle Egyptian site of Ehnasya el-Medina [Herakleopolis magna] was formerly – albeit not universally – mooted as the ancestral home of Dynasty 22.¹¹ This notion was based primarily on the testimony of the “Pasenhor stela” [Louvre

³ É. Naville, *Bubastis (1887–1889)*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 8 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Limited, 1891), 60–62, plates 50–52; L. Habachi, *Tell Basta*. SASAE 22 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1957), *passim*; K.A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 262.

⁴ Naville, *Bubastis, passim*; É. Naville, *The festival hall of Osorkon II in the great temple of Bubastis (1887–1889)*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 10 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Limited, 1892), *passim*; Habachi, *Tell Basta*; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, §§ 277, 279, note 424.

⁵ R.A. Fazzini, *Egypt, Dynasties XXII–XXV*. Iconography of Religions 16 (Egypt)/10 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 34, plate 32, 155; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Volume 2, *Die 22.–24. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 26–27 [12.31].

⁶ Naville, *Bubastis*, 46; F. Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas von Tod Osorkons II. bis zur Wiedervereinigung Ägyptens durch Psametik I*. TAVO (B) 6 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1974), 127, *contra* E.R. Lange, “Ein neuer König Schoschenk in Bubastis,” *GM* 203 (2004), 69 [Tut-kheper-Re Shoshenq Iib].

⁷ É. Naville, *The store-city of Pithom and the route of the Exodus*. 4th ed. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 1 (London: Trübner & Co., 1903), 4, 15, plate 3b; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 2 [12.6].

⁸ J.S. Holladay, “Tell el-Maskhuta,” *Encyclopedia of the archaeology of ancient Egypt*, ed. K.A. Bard (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 786–789; J.S. Holladay, “Pithom,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. D. B. Redford (Oxford, New York, and Cairo: Oxford University Press and The American University in Cairo Press, 2001), 51.

⁹ A.M. Dodson, “Rise and fall of the house of Shoshenq: The Libyan centuries of Egyptian history,” *KMT* 6, no. 3 (1995), 66, note 10; A.M. Dodson, “Towards a minimum chronology of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period,” *BES* 14 (2000), 9–10, note 19.

¹⁰ Lange, *GM* 203 (2004), 65–72; K. Jansen-Winkel, “The chronology of the Third Intermediate Period: Dyns. 22–24.” In *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, ed. E. Hornung, R. Krauß, and D.A. Warburton. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1 (Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 83) (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 237; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 75 [15.1].

¹¹ Typical examples include O. Bates, *The eastern Libyans: An essay*. Cass Library of African Studies 87 (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1914), 228; G.A. Wainwright, “The Meshwesh,” *JEA* 48 (1962), 84–87; A.M. Blackman, “The stela of Shoshenk, Great Chief of the Meshwesh,” *JEA* 27 (1941), 92; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat von Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. PÄ 1 (Leiden and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1953–1958), 1, 173; A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the pharaohs: An introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 328; H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A cultural topography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961; reprint, 1977), 217; H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit*. PÄ 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), 84; F. Gomaà, “Herakleopolis magna,” *LÄ* 2, 1125; M.G. Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna): Its importance and its role in pharaonic history*. BdÉ 40 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1983), 125–127; D.B. Redford, “Shishak,” *The Anchor Bible dictionary*, ed. D.N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5, 1121; D.B. Redford, *From slave to pharaoh: The black experience of ancient Egypt* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 61. See now K. Jansen-Winkel, “Der thebanische ‘Gottesstaat,’” *Orientalia* 70 [new series] (2001), 172; K. Jansen-Winkel, “Die Libyer in Herakleopolis Magna,” *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 299–300, 312–313.

IM 2846],¹² a Serapeum stela dated to the reign of Shoshenq V. The main body of the text states that the ancestors of Paserhor B – reaching back in time five generations to Nimlot C (lines D4–D9), the son of king Osorkon II – were involved in the cult of Heryshef at Ehnasya el-Medina. Additionally, the stela also lists both the royal and non-royal ancestors of Osorkon II back to “the *tjehenu*-Libyan, Buyuwawa” (lines D10–D13). By extension it might be assumed that these earlier generations before Nimlot C are also to be located at Ehnasya el-Medina, but because the stela does not explicitly mention any *direct* connection, Kitchen argues that testimony of the Paserhor stela

does *not* imply that the 22nd Dynasty came from Heracleopolis to assume the throne of Egypt. That link in the stela does not antedate Nimlot C, son of Osorkon II. The other Nimlot (A, father of Shoshenq I) is entitled simply God’s Father and Great Chief, without any location. Nor does any other monument link either Nimlot A or his forebearers with Heracleopolis. During the 22nd Dynasty, interest in that town was strategic and religious – nothing more.¹³

While Kitchen is certainly correct in his assertion that the family’s link to Ehnasya el-Medina *as stated on the stela* does not antedate Nimlot C, his general dismissal unduly minimizes the import of the site for Dynasty 22, and the Libyan period in general. There is, in fact, a great deal of textual and archaeological evidence for a long-sustained presence of Libyans at the site, as well as an abiding interest on their behalf in it, well beyond what can be demonstrated for Tell Basta, or indeed most other sites in Egypt, save perhaps San el-Hagar.

This substantial and sustained Libyan presence at Ehnasya el-Medina did not arise overnight. Likely due to its being located at a major ingress point into the Nile valley from the western oases and Libya, as well as the Fayyum,¹⁴ Libyan associations with the region go back to the New Kingdom at the very least. At that time, the region of Middle Egypt was widely used by the Ramesside kings as a resettlement locale for foreign prisoners of war,¹⁵ in what can only be regarded as military reeducation centers.¹⁶ This is most clearly seen in an extraordinary text on a rhetorical stela from the time of Ramesses III (Chapel C of Deir el-Medina):¹⁷

¹² M. Malinine, G. Posener, and J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale de France, 1968), 1, 30–31 (cat. 31); Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 271–272 [28.12].

¹³ Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 102, note 210. See also the comments of J. Yoyotte, “Les principautés du Delta au temps de l’anarchie libyenne: Études d’histoire politique.” In *Mélanges Maspero*. Volume 1 (fascicle 4), *Orient ancien*. MIFAO 66/1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1961), 135–136/§ 14, 148/§ 41.

¹⁴ G.A. Wainwright, “El Hibah and esh Shurafa and their connection with Herakleopolis and Cusæ,” *ASAE* 27 (1927), 84–86, note 6; Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya*, 18–26. Evidence of earlier Libyan contact at the site remains possible, but has not heretofore come to light; see also K. Jansen-Winkel, “Der Beginn der libyschen Herrschaft in Ägypten,” *BN* 71 (1994), 81–84, 91.

¹⁵ cf. *t3 ʔht šrdnw* “the fields of the Sherden” [JE 45327], still recognized during the reign of Osorkon II (Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 132 [18.69, line 4]). See also note 22, *infra*.

¹⁶ On the question of military camps and the forcible settlement of non-Egyptian prisoners therein, see generally Sauneron and Yoyotte, “Traces d’établissements asiatiques en Moyenne Égypte sous Ramsès II,” *RdE* 7 (1950), 67–70; D. Kessler, “Eine Landschenkung Ramesses III. zugunsten eines ‘Grossen der *thrw*’ aus *mr-mšc.f.*,” *SAK* 2 (1975), 117–134; H.W. Helck, “Militärkolonie,” *LÄ* 4, 134–135; B. Vachala, “Zur Frage der Kriegsgefangenen in Ägypten: Überlegungen anhand der schriftlichen Quellen des Alten Reiches.” In *Probleme der frühen Gesellschaftsentwicklung im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin: Institut für Sudanarchäologie und Ägyptologie, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1991), 93–101; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in ancient times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 221–227; P. Grandet, *Le papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*. BdÉ 109/2 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1994), 2, 203–204/833; R. Gundlach, *Die Zwangsumsiedlung auswärtiger Bevölkerung als Mittel ägyptischer Politik bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 26 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1994).

¹⁷ K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside inscriptions: Historical and biographical* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd., 1969–1990), 5, 91/5–7; K.A. Kitchen, “The arrival of the Libyans in late New Kingdom Egypt.” In *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 BC*,

*hꜣq·n=f hꜣst [. . .] rbyw mšw<š>w dj=f dꜣy=w jtrw jnj r kmt st jr w m
nhtww n nsw nhtw sꜣm=w mdwt rmt hr šms nsw jry=f swth mdwt=sn p[n]ꜣ=f
nsw=w*

He has captured the hill-country of the [. . .], the Libu and the Meshwe<sh>. He caused their crossing of the river [*i.e.*, the Nile], carried off into the Blackland. They are done [*i.e.*, settled] into strongholds of the victorious king, that they might hear the speech of the (Egyptian) people while serving the king. He makes their language [lit., “speech”] disappear; he overturns their tongues.

After cultural indoctrination, the prisoners housed therein were pressed into military service as auxiliary troops. The neighborhood of Ehnasya el-Medina was no exception, presumably due to its highly strategic location. For example, “the *bḥn*-estate¹⁸ of the Nubian” [*pꜣ bḥn n pꜣ nḥsj*] was located in the region,¹⁹ as were “strongholds” [*nhtww*²⁰] of the Sherden.²¹ The latter term, *nhtw*, refers specifically to strongholds housing populations of non-Egyptians designated for service to the Egyptian state.²² For example, Ramesses III, referring to the Sea Peoples, states

snt=j st m nhtww wꜣf hr rn=j ꜣꜣt nꜣy=sn dꜣmw mj ḥfnw

I settled them in nꜣtꜣw-strongholds, subdued because of my name, the multitudes of their young recruits like hundred-thousands.²³

Kitchen is of course well aware of this Ramesside policy to forcibly settle foreign prisoners of war within Egypt proper. He rejects, however, the notion that Libyan prisoners from the wars of Ramesses III were settled in Middle Egypt,²⁴ seeing “but very little trace of Libyans”.²⁵ Rather,

ed. M.A. Leahy (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, and The Society for Libyan Studies, 1990), 21; E.F. Morris, *The architecture of imperialism: Military bases and the evolution of foreign policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. PĀ 22 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 732. See also Kitchen, *Ram. inscr.*, 5, 24/1–3. A similar text of Ramesses II is also known from Abu Simbel (Sauneron and Yoyotte, *RdE* 7 (1950), 70; Kitchen, *Ram. inscr.*, 2, 206/14–16; Morris, *Architecture of imperialism*, 471).

¹⁸ There is considerable debate regarding the exact meaning of *bꜣn*. For discussion, see Morris, *Architecture of imperialism*, 821–823.

¹⁹ JE 29410, line x+21 (P.L.J. Tresson, “L’Inscription de Chechanq I^{er} au Musée du Caire: Un frappant exemple d’impôt progressif en matière religieuse.” In *Mélanges Maspero*. Volume 1 (fascicle 2): *Orient ancien*. MIFAO 66/1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1935–1938), 817–840; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 6 [12.15]).

²⁰ For *nhtw*-strongholds in general, see Morris, *Architecture of imperialism*, *passim*, and especially 731–734, 820–821.

²¹ Referred to in late Ramesside titles as *pꜣ 3 nhtww ꜣꜣ<w> šrdn* “the three Great Strongholds of the Sherden” (on a stela from Ehnasya el-Medina [W.M. Flinders Petrie, F.L. Griffith, and C.T. Currelly, *Ehnasya: 1904*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 26 (London: Trübner & Co., 1905), plate 27/1; Kitchen, *Ram. inscr.*, 7, 373/7; Kessler, *SAK* 2, 130; P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*. 2nd ed. EME 3 (Paris: Éditions Cybèle, [2001]), 62/9.19; Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 309]) and *pꜣ 5 nhtww šr<d>n* “the five Strongholds of the Sher<d>en” (Chevereau, *Nouvel Empire*, 62/9.20; Jansen-Winkel, *BN* 71 (1994), 91; Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 308). (For the numeral following directly after the definite article, rather than the noun, see J. Černý, S. Israelit-Groll, and C.J. Eyre, *A Late Egyptian grammar*. 3rd ed. Studia Pohl (series maior) 4 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1984), § 6.2.) Jansen-Winkel (*Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 309) argues the “3” of the first example is also to be read “5”; cf. Flinders Petrie, Griffith, and Currelly, *Ehnasya*, plate 27/1. For other examples from the New Kingdom, see Morris, *Architecture of imperialism*, 820–821, *passim*.

²² Morris, *Architecture of imperialism*, 699–701, 731–734, 820–821.

²³ pBritish Museum 9999 [pHarris I], 76,7–9 (W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I: hieroglyphische Transkription*. BAe 5 (Brussel: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1933), 93, 3–4).

²⁴ Specifically citing the stela from Chapel C of Deir el-Medina (note 18, *supra*), which he regards as referring to the Delta region.

²⁵ Kitchen, “The arrival of the Libyans in late New Kingdom Egypt”, 21.

he vaguely argues Libyan prisoners of war were settled in the eastern Delta, including at Tell Basta.²⁶

Libyan military strongholds in Middle Egypt

There is, *contra* Kitchen, direct confirmation of a major Libyan presence in Middle Egypt, specifically in the region of Ehnasya el-Medina, as early as Dynasty 21. This comes in the form of two texts from the Third Intermediate Period necropolis at Ehnasya el-Medina.²⁷ The first is an inscription on the left jamb of a door frame [Misión Arqueológica Española magazine (Ehnasya el-Medina), inventory 86-368-369], which records the name of the Overseer of the Army, First God’s Servant of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, Leader [*hꜣwtj*], Amen-kha-em-opet, who was also the “Foremost of the five Great Strongholds of the Me<shwesh>” [*hꜣtj pꜣ 5 nḥtww ꜣꜣw n n<ꜣ> m<šwš> w*].²⁸ The second text is on a lintel [JE 94748; left and right sides] that names the “child <of> the Great Chief of the Me<shwesh> [*ms <n> wr ꜣꜣ n m<šwš> w*]; Leader, Overseer of the Army, First God’s Servant of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, Osorkon, who – as with Amen-kha-em-opet – was the “Foremost of the five²⁹ Great Strongholds of the Me<shwesh>” [*hꜣtj pꜣ 5 nḥtww ꜣꜣw n n<ꜣ> m<šwš> w*].³⁰

It is clear from these texts, which date to late Dynasty 21 or early Dynasty 22,³¹ that there were once “five Great Strongholds of the Me<shwesh>” in the region of Ehnasya el-Medina. As Morris demonstrates, *nḥt*-strongholds were specifically utilized to house foreign prisoners of war in service to the Egyptian state.³² So while these five “Great Strongholds of the Meshwesh” are not attested textually before the Third Intermediate Period, it would be improbable for them to have

²⁶ Kitchen, “The arrival of the Libyans in late New Kingdom Egypt”, 21; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 239.

²⁷ In addition to the following, see also the contribution of María del Carmen Pérez Die elsewhere in this volume, who discusses the dating of these texts.

²⁸ María del Carmen Pérez Die and P. Vernus, *Excavaciones en Ehnasya el Medina (Heracleópolis Magna)*. Volume 1: *Introducción general y inscripciones*. Informes arqueológicos/Egipto 1 (Madrid: Instituto de conservación y restauración de bienes culturales, 1992), 41–43, 81, 122 (document 15); K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripciones der Spätzeit*. Volume 1: *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 166 [11.3]. The relief and text are dated by Pérez Die and Vernus on stylistic grounds to Dynasty 21 (Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones*, 41); see also Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 307–310.

²⁹ Pérez Die and Vernus (*Excavaciones*, 42, 44–46) regard text and the previous one as referring to a single stronghold, reading *hꜣtj pꜣ nḥtww ꜣꜣw n n<ꜣ> m<šwš> w* “que está al mando de la gran fortaleza de los Ma.” However, the numeral “5” is clearly written, and Pérez Die (this volume) is now in agreement with this reading; see also Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 308, note 72.

³⁰ María del Carmen Pérez Die, “Fouilles récentes a Heracleopolis Magna.” In *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 BC*, ed. M.A. Leahy (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, and The Society for Libyan Studies, 1990), 119–120; Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones*, 43–47, 81–82, 125–126, 154–155 (document 17); P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque: Carrières militaires et carrières sacerdotales en Égypte du XI^e au II^e siècle avant J. C.* 2nd ed. EME 2 (Paris: Éditions Cybèle, [2001]), [386–387] (document 42bis); Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripciones der Spätzeit* 1, 165 [11.1].

³¹ See note 29, *supra*. Based on palæographic evidence, Pérez Die and Vernus suggest the Osorkon referred to on the lintel [JE 94748] may possibly be either the future Osorkon I or else an otherwise unattested son of Nimlot B (and thus a grandson of Shoshenq I); see Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones*, 47; see also Pérez Die, “Fouilles récentes,” *passim*. Chevereau (*Basse Époque*, [386–387], document 42bis) identifies him with the God’s Servant of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, Great Chief of <Per>-Sekhem-kheper-Re, King’s Son of Ramesses, Overseer of the Army, Leader, Osorkon, whose mother is Tjeysetj (Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones*, 50–52, 82, 128 [document 21]; Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripciones der Spätzeit* 2, 223 [25.5]). Jansen-Winkel (*Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 307–310) argues that both texts are best assigned to late Dynasty 21 as the range of both military and priestly titles is more typical of that period than later in Dynasty 22, when there was a general split between holders of the highest military and priestly offices.

³² See notes 23 and 24, *supra*.

been founded *after* the Ramesside Period.³³ If the similarly named strongholds involving other ethnic groups³⁴ known to have been located Middle Egypt are any guide, it seems inescapable to conclude that these strongholds were founded by Ramesses III after his campaigns against the Libyans,³⁵ just as texts dating from the period suggest.³⁶ For example, in pBritish Museum 9999 [pHarris I], 77,5–6,³⁷ Ramesses III states:

*grg=j nꜣy=w ḥꜣwtyw m nḥtww ḥr rn=j dj=j n=w ḥry <w> pḏtyw ꜣꜣw n mhwt
ꜣbw jrꜣw m ḥmw mnšyw ḥr rn=j*

I established their leaders³⁸ in strongholds with my name, (and also) I gave to them Chief<s> of Bowmen and Great-ones of the tribes, branded and made as slaves, impressed (with a cartouche) with my name.

Therefore, the suggestion that the forefathers of “the *tjehenu*-Libyan, Buyuwawa” mentioned on the “Pasenhor stela” were among the Libyan military prisoners enslaved by Ramesses III, and forcibly settled in a *nḥtw*-stronghold of Meshwesh at Ehnasya el-Medina,³⁹ seems eminently justified. In comparison, there are no military establishments known from the environs of Tell Basta.

Other evidence of an early Libyan military presence at Ehnasya el-Medina

In addition to the military presence of Meshwesh troops documented at Ehnasya el-Medina, the interest paid to the city on the part of the Libyan rulers throughout the Third Intermediate Period was not inconsiderable, as is demonstrated on the “Pasenhor Stela.” As noted above, while Kitchen is correct in pointing out that *on the stela* the link between Ehnasya el-Medina and the royal family of Dynasty 22 does not antedate Nimlot C, the son of Osorkon II,⁴⁰ he fails to draw attention to the fact that Nimlot B, the son of Shoshenq I, was intimately connected with the city as he was headquartered there as the Overseer of the Army of Neni-nesu⁴¹ [*jmy-rꜣ mšꜣ nnj-nsw*].⁴²

³³ Jansen-Winkel (*Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 309) holds them to be identical to the *nḥtw*-strongholds of the Sherden known from the Ramesside Period (see note 22, *supra*).

³⁴ For examples, see *supra*.

³⁵ Or alternatively, one of the Dynasty 19 kings involved in conflicts with the Libyans, such as Seti I, Ramesses II, or Merenptah.

³⁶ See note 17, *supra*.

³⁷ Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 94, 1–4; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, 2, 337.

³⁸ Referring earlier [line 77,3] to those of the Meshwesh, Libu, Isbet, Qeyqesh, Sheydjedj, Hes, and Beqen, all of which are Libyan tribal names.

³⁹ On the basis of generation counts Kitchen (*Third Intermediate Period*, § 239, note 245) would place Buyuwawa himself as a contemporary of Ramesses XI. For discussion regarding the incursions of Meshwesh and Libu tribesmen in the Theban region during mid- to late Dynasty 20, see B.J.J. Haring, “Libyans in the late Twentieth Dynasty.” In *Village voices: Proceedings of the symposium ‘Texts from Deir el-Medina and their interpretation,’ Leiden, May 31–June 1, 1991*, ed. R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts. Centre of Non-Western Studies Publications 13 (Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden University, 1992), 71–80; B. J. J. Haring, “Libyans in the Theban region, 20th Dynasty.” In *Sesto congresso internazionale de egiptologia: Atti* (Torino: Italgas, 1993), 2, 159–165.

⁴⁰ See note 14, *supra*.

⁴¹ *viz.* Ehnasya el-Medina.

⁴² The other known bearers of this title from the Third Intermediate Period include Nimlot C, the son of Osorkon II (Chevereau, *Basse Époque*, 18, document 12); Bak-en-Ptah, the son of Takeloth II (Chevereau, *Basse Époque*, 46, document 42); and during Dynasty 26 it was held by the Great Overseer of the Army, Overseer of the Navy, and Overseer of Upper Egypt, Somtutefnakhte (Chevereau, *Basse Époque*, 82–83, document 107). The association of the title with sons of kings throughout the Libyan Period is not to be overlooked.

Surrounding the person of Nimlot was a military establishment that could not possibly have sprung up *de novo* at the accession of Shoshenq I.⁴³ As detailed on the “Herakleopolis magna altar” [JE 39410],⁴⁴ this included the Great-one of the Foreign Troops of <Stronghold> of Usermaat-Re [*p3 ʕ3 n twhrw n <nḥtw>*]⁴⁵ *wsr-mʕ3 <t>-rʕ* (line x+13); the Great-one of the Foreign Troops of Neni-nesu [*p3 n twhrw n nnj-nsu*] (line x+13); the Chief of Bowmen of the Ships of War of the Overseer of the Army [*p3 ḥry pḏty n dpwt ʕḥ3 n p3 jmy-r3 mšʕ*] (line x+17); the Scribe of the Army of the Stronghold of Mery-meshaef⁴⁶ [*p3 sš mšʕ n p3 nḥtw n mry-mšʕ=f*] (line x+18); the Great-ones of the Asians (?)⁴⁷ of the Stronghold of Mery-meshaef [*n3 ʕ3w n ʕmww (?) [nḥtw] mrj-mšʕ=f*] (line x+18), the Scribe of the Army of the Stronghold of [. . .] [*p3 sš mšʕ n p3 n[ḥtw n] [. . .]*] (line x+18); the Deputy of the Place of Writings of the Overseer of the Army [*p3 jdnw n t3 st sš <w> n p3 jmy-r3 mšʕ*] (line x+26), and the Craftsman of Chariots [*n <3> ḥmww mrkbḥw*] (line x+28).

The military nature of Ehnasya el-Medina as presented on the “Herakleopolis magna altar” should not be underestimated. Utilizing the *Königsnovelle* format, the text describes how the cult of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, had fallen into abeyance until Shoshenq I – at the suggestion of his son Nimlot B – renewed it with daily offerings of oxen. Over the course of a year 365 oxen were to be given to the temple of Heryshef (line x+11), and of these, 146 were to come from military officers and administrators. This represents forty percent of the total offerings, whereas priests and temple administrators were only required to donate fifty-five oxen, or fifteen percent.⁴⁸ The remaining offerings were to be provided by settlements in the greater area, and a handful given by various craftsmen.

Further, the text specifically states the king was actively seeking “every opportunity for benefactions, in order to make them for his father, Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, Lord of Neni-nesu, (who) was in his heart now (that) he was as [king]” (lines x+2–3). It appears that this renewal of the *cultus* occurred at the very beginning of Shoshenq I’s reign when he was yet new to the throne. This would be understandable if the military headquarters of Nimlot B (as discussed above) were already preexisting when Shoshenq I assumed the kingship.

A final piece of evidence remains to be addressed. In line x+14 mention is made of an institution known as the *pr jmy-b3ḥ*. This could perhaps be a reference to a temple-estate of a local deity named Imy-bah (“the Forefather”)⁴⁹ located at Ehnasya el-Medina. However, it seems much

⁴³ D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic king-lists, annals and day-books: A contribution to the study of the Egyptian sense of history*. Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Publications 4 (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1986), 307, note 68.

⁴⁴ Tresson, “L’inscription de Chechanq I^{er},” MIFAO 66/1, 817–840; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 4–7 [12.15].

⁴⁵ cf. “the Great (?) Stronghold of User-maa<t>-Re” [*p3 nḥtw ʕ3 (?) wsr-mʕ3 <t>-rʕ*] mentioned on a Dynasty 22 stela from Ehnasya el-Medina (Flinders Petrie, Griffith, and Currelly, *Ehnasya*, 22, plate 27/2; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 433 [45.81]).

⁴⁶ This stronghold is strongly associated with – if not identical to – the old Ramesside “Strongholds of the Sherden”; see Kitchen, *Ram.inscr.* 5, 270/11–12; Kessler *SAK* 2, 130; Jansen-Winkeln, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 309. See also notes 16, 22, and 34, *supra*. Sherden are found in association with the Stronghold of User-maaet-Re on a stela dating to Dynasty 22 (note 46, *supra*).

⁴⁷ The writing of this word is not clear. Tresson (“L’inscription de Chechanq I^{er},” MIFAO 66/1, 823, note 9) suggested reading *whmww* “repeaters, messengers,” while Kessler (*SAK* 2, 132–133, note 169) suggests *rsww* “watchers, guards.” The signs seem to favor an interpretation of *ʕmww* “Asians,” or perhaps even the abbreviated writing of *m<SwS>w* “Me<shwesh>,” but no great confidence can be placed in any of these suggestions.

⁴⁸ Jansen-Winkeln, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 298–299. Nimlot B, in his office of Overseer of the Army of Neni-nesu, was personally required to provide thirty oxen (line x+12).

⁴⁹ Perhaps cf. C. Leitz, et al., eds., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters and Departement Oriëntalistiek, 2002), 1, 235.

more likely to refer to a “Temple-estate of the Forefathers,” which would certainly seem to suggest that Libyan royal family itself viewed its place of origin to be at Ehnasya el-Medina and not Tell Basta.⁵⁰

While the texts of the “Pasenhor stela” and the “Herakleopolis magna altar” undeniably associate the early Dynasty 22 with Ehnasya el-Medina, the city and its environs continued to remain of central importance – both religiously and military – to the later rulers of Dynasties 22 and (later) 23. However, despite the building activities of Osorkon I and II, it would be difficult to substantiate such a claim for Tell Basta. Of these later works in the region of Ehnasya el-Medina, the fortress of Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re [*pr šhm-ḥpr-r*],⁵¹ founded by Osorkon I, is likely the most significant.⁵² The nearby fortress site of el-Hibeh, including the temple built there by Shoshenq I, is likewise noteworthy.⁵³ It goes without saying that the large Libyan period necropolis containing the tombs of high-ranking military and religious personnel located on site at Ehnasya el-Medina itself, which continued in use from Dynasty 21 through late Dynasty 23, when the city became an independent Libyan kingdom, further emphasizes its importance to the Libyans.⁵⁴

It of course bears remembering that Shoshenq I’s own background before he became king was lodged squarely within the Libyan tribal military as the “Great Chief of the Me<shwesh>” [wꜣ

⁵⁰ This conclusion has also been reached by Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 70 [new series] (2001), 172; Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 299–300, 312–313.

⁵¹ Located north of Ehnasya el-Medina, in the neighbourhood of Medinat el-Ghurab and the mouth of the Fayyum; Kessler (*SAK* 2 (1975), 128) suggests it was perhaps near al-Lahun. See H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1925–1931; reprint, 1975), 2, 130, 5, 47; Kees, *Priestertum*, 1, 187; Yoyotte, “Principautés,” 135, note 1; Kees, *Hohenpriester*, 89; A.R. Schulman, “A problem of Pedubast,” *JARCE* 5 (1966), 35, note e; Gomaà, *Fürstentümer*, 74. Jansen-Winkel (*Orientalia* 70 [new series] (2001), 172, note 110; *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 303, note 40) has made the intriguing suggestion that Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re is identical to the old Ramesside *nḥtw*-stronghold of Mery-meshaef (Kessler, *SAK* 2 (1975), 103–134, particularly 133), which is also mentioned on the “Herakleopolis magna altar.” Unfortunately there is no confirmation of this hypothesis, but several Ramesside fortresses and/or *nḥtw*-strongholds are known to have been located at or near Medinat el-Ghurab (Sauneron and Yoyotte, *RdE* 7 (1950), 67–70).

⁵² For a partial list of high-ranking Libyan soldiers and religious leaders from Ehnasya el-Medina, see Mokhtar, *Ihnâsia*, 127–131. To this may be added, at a minimum, G. Daressy, “Fragments héracléopolitains,” *ASAE* 21 (1921), 139; K. Jansen-Winkel, “Zu einigen ‘Trinksprüchen’ auf ägyptischen Gefäßen,” *ZÄS* 116 (1989), 151–153; J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XIII^{mes} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon*. OLA 32 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989), 59; Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones, passim*; Chevereau, *Basse Époque, passim*; Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 313–316; Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripciones der Spätzeit* 2, *passim*. It is also notable that the Libyan king Peftjauawybast (M.-A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l’Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire*. BdÉ 98 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1987), 216–218) came from, and resided in, Ehnasya el-Medina (Piye Stela [JE 48862, 70]; see N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y (JE 48862 et 47086–47089)*. MIFAO 105 (Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne 1) (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1981), 24*/2; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 319; Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripciones der Spätzeit* 2, 343 [35.1]).

⁵³ G. Daressy, “Le temple de Hibeh,” *ASAE* 2 (1901), 154–156; A. Kamal, “Description générale des ruines de Hibé, de son temple et de sa nécropole,” *ASAE* 2 (1901), 84–91; K.F. Breith, “Der Amontempel Scheschonks I. bei El Hibe.” In *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I. bei el Hibe: Bericht über die badischen Grabungen in Ägypten in den Wintern 1913 und 1914*, ed. H. Ranke (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926), 58–68; Wainwright, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 76–104; R.J. Wenke, *Archaeological investigations at el-Hibeh 1980: Preliminary report*. ARCE Reports 9 (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984); C.A. Redmount and M. Morgenstein, “Overview of the current state of the Dynasty 21 [*sic*] Amun temple at el-Hiba.” In *Servant of Mut: Studies in honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. S. D’Auria. PÄ 28 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 204–207.

⁵⁴ See the contribution of Pérez Die in this volume and the literature cited there, as well as Pérez Die, “Fouilles récentes,” 119–120; Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones*; see also Jansen-Winkel, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 297–316.

aA n m<SwS>w] and “Chief of Chiefs” [*wr n wrw*];⁵⁵ he even continued to use the former title when he was initially king.⁵⁶ The strong military ties with Ehnasya el-Medina exhibited in early Dynasty 22 on the “Herakleopolis magna altar”, as well as Shoshenq I’s own background, argue strongly for the Libyan royal family having its origin in one of the “Strongholds of the Meshwesh” centered in the region.⁵⁷

Given the total body of evidence discussed above, Kitchen’s insistence that the Libyan regard for Ehnasya el-Medina was “strategic and religious – nothing more” is exceptionally difficult to substantiate. The presence of “five Strongholds of the Meshwesh” of presumably Ramesside origin that were still being staffed in Dynasties 21 and 22 points directly to a long and sustained presence of Libyan military personnel in the area. This is precisely the sort of background from which Shoshenq I would have arisen. Therefore, despite the testimony of Manetho’s *Ægyptiaca* and the building programmes of Osorkon I and II,⁵⁸ there is really very little contemporary evidence forthcoming to support Manetho’s claim that the royal family of Dynasty 22 originated at Tell Basta,⁵⁹ in contrast to Ehnasya el-Medina, where evidence is abundant.

Manetho and the “Bubastite” Dynasty

The question remains as to why Manetho might have assigned Dynasty 22 to Bubastis in the first place if the Libyan royal family did not in fact originate there. Redford has demonstrated that before Dynasty 25 there is often a discrepancy in the Manethonic account between the known, historical seat of government or place of origin of a particular dynasty (which of course need not be the identical), with what Manetho claims.⁶⁰ For example, Dynasties 19 and 20 are both described by Manetho as being Theban, but in fact they were historically associated with Per-Ramesses [Qantir], while the family originated in the eastern Delta.

The probable reason for the discrepancy in Manetho’s account is that since Per-Ramesses no longer existed in the Late Period – its stones having long since been quarried away for new construction at San el-Hagar, Tell el-Maskhuta, and elsewhere – the “massive monuments and

⁵⁵ JE 72170 (Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* 1, 159 [10.6]); JE 66285, lines x+5 (Blackman, *JEA* 27 (1941), 83–95; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* 1, 159 [10.7]). See also G. Daressy, “Les parents de Chéchanq I^{er},” *ASAE* 16 (1916), 177; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* 1, 162 [10.8].

⁵⁶ Regnal Year 2, as recorded in Karnak Priestly Annals frag. 4B (J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XIII^{mes} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon*. OLA 32 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989), 49–50, plates 3 and 18; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* 2, 36 [12.49]).

⁵⁷ It is worth pointing out that the Libyan First God’s Servants of Amun, Herihor, Mes-helot (“Masaharta”), and Men-kheper-Re, were also all based nearby at the fortress of el-Hibeh (Jansen-Winkeln, *BN* 71 (1994), 82. Herihor and Men-kheper-Re, in particular, were primarily associated with the military. In general, see J. Lull García, *Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón tebanos de la wHm mswt y dinastía XXI (ca. 1083–945 a.C.)*. British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 1469 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), *passim*, and also K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Zum militärischen Befehlsbereich der Hohenpriester des Amun,” *GM* 99 (1987), 19–22.

⁵⁸ See also Redford, *King-lists*, 305–310.

⁵⁹ For minor monuments, primarily consisting of donation stelæ involving Per-Bastet, see G. Daressy, “Trois stèles de la période bubastite,” *ASAE* 15 (1915), 140–147; B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. W. Burney, *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings*. Volume 4: *Lower and Middle Egypt: Delta and Cairo to Asyut* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1934), 31–35, *passim*; Gomaà, *Fürstentümer*, 126–137; D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples dans l’Égypte du I^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.” In *State and temple economy in the ancient Near East 2: Proceedings of the international conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978*, ed. E. Lipinski. OLA 6 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1979), 665–672, *passim*; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, §§ 308, 311; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* 2, *passim*. It should be pointed out, however, that king Osorkon IV is mentioned on the Triumphal Stela of Piye [JE 48862, 19] as ruling at Tell Basta (Grimal, *Pi(ankh)*, 13*/12; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 315/III; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit* 2, 340 [35.1]).

⁶⁰ Redford, *King-lists*, 305–306.

structures [of the Ramessides] survived in the 5th–4th Centuries B.C. only in Thebes.”⁶¹ Thus, according to Redford, “what impressed itself upon the collective memory of the *Volk* was the site where the major proportion of the monuments of a dynasty survived.”

In the case of Tell Basta, Manetho was likely personally familiar with the site given that he was born nearby at ancient Sebennytos [Sammanud] and (probably) served as a priest at Heliopolis.⁶² It is easy to imagine that the impressive temples of Osorkon I and II at Tell Basta impressed him with their size and fine workmanship. Conversely, there may have been little or nothing of Dynasty 22 origin visible at Ehnasya el-Medina during Manetho’s lifetime, leading him to fail to recognize its importance.

The location of the Residence

The question of whether Dynasty 22 originated at Tell Basta or Ehnasya el-Medina has little bearing on the separate question concerning the location of the official residence of the dynastic founder, Shoshenq I. Most scholars, if they make any comment regarding the location of the residence at all, tend to place it either at Tell Basta – again, presumably on the testimony of Manetho – or at San el-Hagar [Tanis], as this is where the kings of both Dynasty 21 and the later part of Dynasty 22 were based.⁶³ The presence of the Third Intermediate Period royal necropolis at the latter site is another logical and natural reason to justify this conclusion.

However, there is no known text from the reign of Shoshenq I explicitly naming either place as the king’s residence. Conversely lines 39–40 of Gebel Silsila Quarry Stela 100, dating to Regnal Year 21, state that the king was at “the Residence of the Temple-estate of Isis [Per-Iset], the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty” [pꜣ ḥnw n pr ꜣst pꜣ kꜣ ʕꜣ rꜥ-ḥrw-ꜣḥty]⁶⁴ when he ordered the reopening of the quarries in order that stone might be cut for construction activities at Karnak. Unfortunately this text is the only known occurrence of this particular toponym, making it difficult to locate with any degree of confidence. Given its reference to a temple-estate of Isis, it is doubtlessly not to be connected with Tell Basta, ancient Per-Bastet [pr bꜣstt], the chief cult centre of the goddess Bastet.⁶⁵

Likewise it is unlikely to have been located at San el-Hagar, where, as Redford justly comments, Shoshenq I is notable by his absence.⁶⁶ Objects that can be reasonably associated with the king and which came from San el-Hagar are limited to two monumental blocks reused as building material for the gateway of Shoshenq III,⁶⁷ a pillar fragment from the Mut temple complex,⁶⁸ and

⁶¹ Redford, *King-lists*, 306.

⁶² G.P. Verbrugge and J.M. Wickersham, *Berosos and Manetho, introduced and translated: Native traditions in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 96. This is recorded in an epistolary dedication text transmitted by Georgios Synkellos, which he maintains to be from Manetho to Ptolemy II Philadelphos, found at the head of the pseudo-Manethonic *Book of Sothis* (Waddell, ed. *Manetho*, 210; Jacoby, *FGH* 3, 103; A. Mosshammer, ed., *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Leipzig: BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1984), 41; Georgios Synkellos, *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the Creation*, trans. W. Adler and P. Tuffin (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 55).

⁶³ For typical examples, see Gardiner, *Egypt of the pharaohs*, 325; Kees, *Hohenpriester*, 84; K. Baer, “The Libyan and Nubian kings of Egypt: Notes on the chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXVI,” *JNES* 32 (1973), 5; D.B. Redford, “Studies in relations between Palestine and Egypt in the first millennium B.C.: II. The Twenty-second Dynasty,” *JAOS* 93 (1973), 8; Gomaà, *Fürstentümer*, 138; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 241; J.H. Taylor, “Third Intermediate Period,” 335. Many more could be cited.

⁶⁴ R.A. Caminos, “Gebel el-Silsilah no. 100,” *JEA* 38 (1952), plate 13; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 22 [12.27].

⁶⁵ Gauthier, *DG* 2, 75.

⁶⁶ Redford, *King-lists*, 309, note 82.

⁶⁷ Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 1 [12.1].

a *cavetto* cornice block from the Great Temple of Amun.⁶⁹ Two sphinxes found at the site originally belonged to Amenemhat II [Louvre A23; JE 37478 + CG 639]⁷⁰ and were usurped by Shoshenq I, but they had also been previously inscribed by Merenptah,⁷¹ strongly arguing that they came from the old Ramesside residence at Qantir. Of these objects, only one of the blocks from the Shoshenq III gateway and another from the Mut temple can confidently be stated to have come originally from San el-Hagar as they both name members of the local Tanite triad, Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu.⁷²

Given the wide scope of Shoshenq I’s major building activities throughout Egypt, it is strange that so little evidence remains of anything that might be definitively associated with him at San el-Hagar if, in fact, he had resided there. However, as the ancient name of Shoshenq’s residence is known, other possibilities can be considered. For example, in his commentary on the text of Gebel Silsila Quarry Stela 100, Caminos drew attention to a name of Per-Ramesses [Qantir], the residence-city of Ramesses II, written

pr rꜥ-ms-sw mrj-jmn ʿnh wḏz snb pꜣ kꜣ ʿꜣ n pꜣ-rꜥ-ḥrw-ꜣḥty

Per-Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, *life, prosperity, health!*, the Great *Ka* of Pa-Re-Harakhty.⁷³

After noting a similarity between this name of Per-Ramesses and that of Shoshenq’s residence of “Per-Iset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty,” Caminos vaguely suggested the latter was to be found somewhere in the Delta,⁷⁴ but he did not specifically claim it was located precisely at Per-Ramesses.

The logical step of equating Shoshenq’s residence specifically with the old Ramesside residence at Per-Ramesses was (apparently) first propounded by Kitchen.⁷⁵ Although he does not go into much detail, he does suggest Per-Iset was “a new country residence” south of San el-Hagar proper, on the north side of Per-Ramesses.⁷⁶ Further, Kitchen argues, it was bounded by Per-Wadjet, with the goddess Wadjet being replaced by Isis in Dynasty 22, based on pBritish

⁶⁸ Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 1 [12.2].

⁶⁹ J. Yoyotte, “Tanis.” In *Tanis: L’Or des pharaons* ([Paris]: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères and Association française d’Action artistique, 1987), 68.

⁷⁰ B. Fay, “The Louvre sphinx, A23.” In *Kunst des Alten Reiches: Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*. Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 28 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 75–79; B. Fay, *The Louvre sphinx and royal sculpture from the reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996); Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 1–2 [12.3–4].

⁷¹ One of them [Louvre A23] was also reinscribed by the Hyksos king Apepy, again pointing at an original placement at Tell el-Dab’a/Qantir; see also Redford, *King-lists*, 309, note 82.

⁷² Heirloom jewelry from the burial of Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq IIa (pectoral JE 72170 [Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 159 (10.6)]; gold armbands JE 72184 A & B [Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 2 (12.5)]) is inherently portable and could have come to the site from anywhere.

⁷³ For examples, see A.H. Gardiner, “The Delta residence of the Ramessides,” *JEA* 5 (1918), 136–137, 183, 184, 188, 190. Gardiner notes that instances of this form of the name of Per-Ramesses with the epithet “the Great *Ka* of Pa-Re-Harakhty” postdate the death of Ramesses II, and therefore are a reference to the king taking the form of the *ka* of Pa-Re-Harakhty at death, “henceforth manifesting himself to mankind in the guise of the great soul or spirit or essence of the solar deity.”

⁷⁴ Caminos, *JEA* 38 (1952), 55/40.

⁷⁵ Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 259, note 314.

⁷⁶ It is of course impossible to identify any precise location, nor does Kitchen suggest one. However, there are a number of *talāl* [“tells”] between San el-Hagar and Qantir, lying along the stretch of the former Khalig el-Salhiyya canal, which ran between the Tanitic and Pelusiatic branches. Among these are the large sites of Tell el-Gumayma (el-Higaziya), Gezirat el-Rimal, and Tell Gezirat el-Zuwaylin.

Museum 10243 [pAnastasi 2], 1,3–1,5 and pBritish Museum 10249 [pAnastasi 4], 6,3–6,5.⁷⁷ These texts describe the location of the new residence of Ramesses II as having

jmnt=f m pr jmn rsy=f m pr swth hprw ʿsrtt m pʒy=f wbn <w> wʒdyt m pʒy=f mht

its west is in Per-Amun, its south is in Per-Sutekh; Astarte becomes as its east,⁷⁸ Wadjet is as its north.

The next scholar to build upon this thesis was Redford, who also rejected any notion of a residence at Tell Basta or San el-Hagar. He initially conjectured that Per-Hebyt [*pr hbyt*],⁷⁹ the chief cult center for the worship of Isis in the Delta during the Late Period and Græco-Roman eras, may have been the location of Shoshenq’s Per-Iset [“Temple-estate of Isis”], but discarded this theory for want of any convincing evidence.⁸⁰ Like Kitchen, Redford argued that the residence of “Per-Iset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty” is to be linked with “Per-Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, *life, prosperity, health!*, the Great *Ka* of Pa-Re-Harakhty.” He went so far as to opine that the general region of the upper Pelusiac branch of the Nile had long been associated with Isis and Bastet as titular goddesses, pointing yet again to a possible location at Per-Ramesses.⁸¹ Finally, he cogently suggested that the two sphinxes discovered at San el-Hagar, which had been reinscribed by both Shoshenq I and Merenptah (*supra*), “undoubtedly” came from Per-Ramesses.⁸²

Ultimately the association of the residence of Shoshenq I with Per-Ramesses is textually the most justifiable solution to this issue. Unfortunately, beyond the obvious similarity of their respective epithets, it is difficult to be adamant about this explanation. In particular there is a major difficulty with the fact that Per-Ramesses was abandoned towards the end of Dynasty 20 and its building material removed for use at San el-Hagar by the rulers of Dynasty 21. It would seem unlikely that Shoshenq I would return to an already ostensibly abandoned area.

There may, however, be some archæological evidence of post-Dynasty 20 activity in the region immediately west of Tell el-Dab’a. Bietak⁸³ mentions a limestone fragment with the name of Psusennes II⁸⁴ found by a farmer in the area west of Tell el-Dab’a, and a limestone block with the

⁷⁷ A.H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian miscellanies*. BAe 7 (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1937), 12, 40, 41.

⁷⁸ Literally, “as its (place of) sunrise.”

⁷⁹ Greek *Iseion*, *Iseopolis*; Latin *Iseum*; modern Behbeit el-Hagara; see Gauthier, *DG* 2, 110–111.

⁸⁰ Redford, *King-lists*, 307–308. The presence of Meshwesh in the neighborhood of Per-Hebyt is thought to be signaled by a fragmentary letter [pLouvre 3169, 2–7 (Kitchen, *Ram. inscr.*, 6, 523)] from the reign of Ramesses XI (Yoyotte, “Principautés,” 148/§ 40, note 3, 159/§ 59; Kitchen, “The arrival of the Libyans in late New Kingdom Egypt,” 22–23, 26, note 22 [for dating]). The letter states that the “Chiefs of the Medjai who are in Per-Hebyt” are needed to hurry to an undisclosed location to observe the activities of Meshwesh in that area. Redford (*King-lists*, 308, note 73) remonstrates against taking this as evidence for Meshwesh *inhabiting* Per-Hebyt, as it is the Medjai who are located there and are being called away from the town in order to respond to the movement of the Libyans. Nevertheless, this does at the very least suggest Meshwesh were in the *environs* of Per-Hebyt, close enough for the Medjai to be called up in order to respond to their activities. Other limited references to Libyans at Per-Hebyt can be found in Yoyotte, “Principautés,” 154–155/§ 51, 159/§ 59; Gomaà, *Fürstentümer*, 68–71; Grimal, *Pi(ankh)y*, 156, note 467.

⁸¹ Redford, *King-lists*, 307–308.

⁸² Redford, *King-lists*, 309, note 82.

⁸³ M. Bietak, *Avaris and Piramessé: Archaeological exploration in the eastern Nile Delta*. Mortimer Wheeler Archaeological Lecture 1979 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 271, note 3; see also J. Yoyotte, “À propos de Psousennes II,” *BSFET* 1 (1988), 41; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 1, 158 [10.1].

⁸⁴ Note, however, in a private communication to the author, dated 17 March 2004, Manfred Bietak states he is “not sure if we could rule out Psusennes I.”

cartouches of Siamun from Tell el-Birka, Ezbat el-Khatana, has been known for some time.⁸⁵ It might be suggested that these blocks originally came from an installation near “Per-Iset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty,” though this can at present remain only a supposition. Finally Dynasty 21 and 22 ceramics, indicating at least some continued settlement, are known from the Qantir and Tell el-Dab‘a region.⁸⁶ Overall, however, the evidence to support this contention, while being suggestive, remains very thin at best.

Two other proposals might additionally be made. Although there is no supporting evidence, it is perhaps possible that the residence of Osorkon I, Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re [*pr šhm-hpr-r*],⁸⁷ may have been “Per-Iset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty” during the reign of Shoshenq I, only to be renamed later by his son, although there is no firm evidence for the existence of Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re before the reign of Osorkon I. Furthermore, while the cults of both Osiris-em-Naref [*wsjr-m-n^cr-f*], Osiris-em-Naret [*wsjr-m-n^crt*] and Horus were known at nearby Ehnasya el-Medina,⁸⁸ Isis is not generally attested in the immediate region, although she was worshipped to the northeast at Atfih,⁸⁹ where Osorkon I added to the temple.⁹⁰

The second possibility is that “Per-Iset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty” may have been located in the area to the south of Memphis [Mit Rahina]. Yoyotte⁹¹ points to several Græco-Roman references to an *Iseion* in the southern regions of Mit Rahina, as well as a Ramesside establishment named “Per-Iset of Ramesses, Beloved of Amun” [*pr Ast n ra-ms-sw mry-jmn*] mentioned in pWilbour,⁹² which was apparently nearby in the village of Ren [*rn*]. Particularly interesting is a reference in the *Strategemata* of Polyainos (Book 7, 3 [second century CE]) that states “around the temple of Isis, [five] *stades*⁹³ from the palace, [Psammetik I] won a victory in a pitched battle” against “Tementes, king of Egypt” [*viz.*, Tanutamun].⁹⁴

One other Isis temple in the region of Mit Rahina might be noted, that of “Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids” [*ꜣst ḥnwt mrw*] at Giza, where a scarab of Shoshenq I has been discovered.⁹⁵ However this is well-outside of any residential area and may therefore be discounted, although it does demonstrate the general importance of Isis in the Memphite region.

⁸⁵ É. Naville, *The shrine of Saft el Henneh and the land of Goshen* (1885). Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 5 (London: Trübner & Co., 1887), 21, plate 9; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 1, 113 [9.11].

⁸⁶ D.A. Aston, *Egyptian pottery of the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth–Seventh Centuries BC): Tentative footsteps into a foreboding terrain*. SAGA 13 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1996), 26; D.A. Aston, *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes QI. Part 1: Corpus of fabrics, wares and shapes*. Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt: Die Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir–Pi-Ramesse 1 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 694.

⁸⁷ See note 52, *supra*.

⁸⁸ Gomaà, “Herakleopolis magna,” *LÄ* 2, 1125; Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya, 177–195, passim*; Leitz, *et al.*, eds., *LGG, OLA* 111, 2, 548a–b.

⁸⁹ Worshipped here as a form of Hathor (R. Grieshammer, “Atfih,” *LÄ* 1, 519).

⁹⁰ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *et al.*, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar, and Shurafa*. ERA 24 (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt and Bernard Quaritch, 1915), plate 40; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 50 [13.12].

⁹¹ J. Yoyotte, “Études géographiques. II: Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et ‘le pehou d’Héracléopolis,’” *RdE* 15 (1963), 114–119. Yoyotte notes that this foundation was probably personally established by Ramesses II for “la gloire d’une obscure Isis locale.”

⁹² Gardiner, *Wilbour papyrus*, 2, 127–128; Yoyotte, *RdE* 15 (1963), 117.

⁹³ Approximately 925 meters. The English translation of Polyainos (*Stratagems of war*, ed. and trans. P. Krentz and E.L. Wheeler (Chicago: Ares Publishers inc., 1994), 2, 627), mistakenly gives “six” for *pente* “five” (*cf.* the Greek, page 626).

⁹⁴ Polyainos, *Stratagems* 2, 626, 627.

⁹⁵ C.M. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire: Autour du temple d’Isis, dame des pyramides* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 83; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 3 [12.11].

Since the funerary cult of Shoshenq I was functioning several generations after its establishment in the Memphite region at the “House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun,”⁹⁶ it is highly probable that the king was buried in the area (discussed below). This argues strongly that the royal residence was in the region as the trend during this period was for kings to be buried in the chief temple of the city of residence.

Given this, and the other circumstantial evidence for an Isis cult in the Memphite region, it would not be surprising if the residence of “Per-Iset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty” was also located in the region of Mit Rahina, potentially at the site of the later Saite royal palace and Roman encampment to the north of the Ptah precinct.⁹⁷ While this does not accord as well as the proposal to locate the residence at the similarly named Ramesside capital of “Per-Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, *life, prosperity, health!*, the Great *Ka* of Pa-Re-Harakhty,” it does avoid the significant problem of locating the settlement in an area that had ostensibly been abandoned long before Shoshenq I came to the throne. The Ramesside name may have only been a source for the name, perhaps adopted for purposes of legitimization, but not otherwise directly connected with the Shoshenqide establishment.⁹⁸

Location of the burial place of Shoshenq I

If the precise location of the official residence of Shoshenq I is obscure, the location of his burial is wholly unknown.⁹⁹ The only item of a funerary character that can be tied to Shoshenq I is a canopic chest in Berlin [ÄMB 11000], which is customarily assumed to have come from San el-Hagar.¹⁰⁰ This is, however, an assumption based purely on the contention that Shoshenq I should have been interred there, for which there is no concrete evidence.

In the past, two canopic jar fragments and a heart scarab, all discovered in the tomb of Shoshenq III [NTR V] at San el-Hagar,¹⁰¹ were cited as evidence for a burial of Shoshenq I at the site,¹⁰² but this is now known not to be the case. One of the canopic jar fragments¹⁰³ is labeled with the name “Hedj-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun, Son of Bastet, God, Ruler of Iunu” [*hd-hpr-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ ššnq mrj-jmn sꜥ bꜥstt ntr ḥqꜥ jwnw*] – that is Shoshenq IV – and not

⁹⁶ Serapeum stela, Saqqara Magazine 18417, line 10 (M. Ibrahim Aly Sayed, “Une stèle inédite du Sérapéum mentionnant le nom de Sheshonq I^{er},” *BSEG* 20 (1996), 5–16; M. Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit; Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren: Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*. ÄAT 51 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 567–569; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit 2*, 397–398 [44.36]). See also P. Vernus, “Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire: I. Les inscriptions de la cour péristyle nord du VI^e pylône dans le temple de Karnak,” *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 10–11, 13–20; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit 2*, 19–20 [12.23].

⁹⁷ W.M. Flinders Petrie and J.H. Walker, *Memphis II: The palace of Apries*. ERA 17 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1909).

⁹⁸ It might be argued that the Residence of Shoshenq I was somehow connected with the “Per-Iset of Ramesses, Beloved of Amun” [*pr ꜣst n rꜥ-ms-sw mry-jmn*] mentioned in pWilbour and the name then conflated with that of Per-Rameses [Qantir]; see note 93, *supra*.

⁹⁹ See also T.L. Sagrillo, “The mummy of Shoshenq I re-discovered?,” *GM* 205 (2005), 95–102, in response to R.L. Miller, “A radiocarbon dated Theban royal mummy from Niagara Falls,” *GM* 198 (2004), 55–62.

¹⁰⁰ A.M. Dodson, *The canopic equipment of the kings of Egypt*. Studies in Egyptology (London: Kegan Paul International, 1994), 3–84, 131/44, 178/44, 179, plates 37–38; S. Ikram and A.M. Dodson, *The mummy in ancient Egypt: Equipping the dead for eternity* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 289–290, figure 431; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit 2*, 27 [12.35].

¹⁰¹ P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chechanq III à Tanis*. Fouilles de Tanis (La nécropole royale de Tanis 3) (Paris: [n. p.], 1960), 76.

¹⁰² For a typical examples, see H. Jacquet-Gordon, review of K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (1100–650 B.C.), *BiOr* 32 (1975), 259; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 93, note 167, § 451.

¹⁰³ P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau d’Osorkon II à Tanis*. Fouilles de Tanis (La nécropole royale de Tanis 1) (Paris: [n. p.], 1947), 59; Dodson, *Canopic equipment*, 93–94, 178/50:1, plate 43b; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit 2*, 256 [26.3].

“Hedj-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Shoshenq I, Beloved of Amun” [*ḥḏ-ḥpr-rꜥ stp·n-rꜥ ššnq mrj-jmn*]. The name on the other fragment is now lost, but as it was found in the same context as the first, it certainly came from one of the other canopic jars of the original set of four. Moreover, it would of course be exceptional for a single individual to have both canopic jars and a canopic chest, particularly as the chest very likely held coffinettes, and *not* jars.¹⁰⁴

The heart scarab is a bit more problematic. Regarding it, Montet states that it was discovered with the canopic jar fragments in NTR V, but it was subsequently stolen before he could examine it in detail.¹⁰⁵ (There is no photograph or illustration of the piece, nor any copy of the actual text in his publication.) Despite this, Montet felt confident enough to write

j'avais cependant déjà reconnu sur le plat du scarabée le chapitre XXXB du Livre des Morts et le nom de l'Osiris-roi Hedjkheperre-Sotepenrê.

Based on Montet's sketchy information, later writers¹⁰⁶ have quite naturally assigned the scarab to Shoshenq I and used it as evidence for the king's burial somewhere in the region of San el-Hagar, if only in a secondary burial in NTR V.

As Montet was making this claim based on memory – some twenty years passing between the discovery of the tomb and its publication – it is of course possible that he might have been mistaken. It is known that a heart scarab of Shoshenq III, which almost certainly came originally from NTR V, entered the collection of the Brooklyn Museum [accession number 61.10] in 1961, the year following Montet's publication of the tomb. However, in a private letter to Bernard von Bothmer dated 10 April 1962, Montet stated he had never seen the heart scarab of Shoshenq III in the Brooklyn collection, and repeated his contention that he had discovered that of Shoshenq I.¹⁰⁷

The most likely solution to the problem is that the heart scarab of Montet is not that of Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq I but – as with the canopic jar fragment also found in the tomb – rather that of Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq IV.¹⁰⁸

Thus, there is, in fact, no material whatsoever that can be directly associated with Shoshenq I in NTR V at San el-Hagar. Indeed, there is at this time no evidence for the king's burial anywhere at the site. Nevertheless, based on his (at that time) faulty understanding of the evidence,¹⁰⁹ Dodson, following Montet,¹¹⁰ suggested that Shoshenq I may have been re-interred in the tomb of Shoshenq III [NTR V] from a previous burial place elsewhere at the site. As the canopic jar fragments and heart scarab can now be confidently reassigned to Shoshenq IV, this conclusion is no longer of valid consideration.¹¹¹

Another burial location for Shoshenq I at San el-Hagar has occasionally been mooted. In a moment of speculation, Gardiner wondered if the “Heqa-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Shoshenq, Beloved of Amen” [*ḥqꜥ-ḥpr-rꜥ stp·n-rꜥ ššnq mrj-jmn*], buried in NTR III, may in fact be Hedj-

¹⁰⁴ A.M. Dodson, “Some notes concerning the royal tombs at Tanis,” *CdE* 63 (1988), 230–231; Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy*, 282, 285, 290.

¹⁰⁵ Montet, *Chechanq III*, 76.

¹⁰⁶ Such as Jacquet-Gordon, *BiOr* 32 (1975), 259; Dodson, *CdE* 63 (1988), 229; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 93, note 167, § 452.

¹⁰⁷ The author wishes to thank Dr. Yekaterina Barbash, Assistant Curator at the Brooklyn Museum, for sharing a copy of this letter with him. The same information is given in Yoyotte, *BSFET* 1 (1988), 42, 47, note 11. The heart scarab of Shoshenq III will be published by the present author in a forthcoming article.

¹⁰⁸ Also signalled by Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 256 [26.2].

¹⁰⁹ Dodson, “Some notes concerning the royal tombs at Tanis,” 229, 232.

¹¹⁰ Montet, *Chechanq III*, 76.

¹¹¹ Dodson has since modified his original opinion. See now A.M. Dodson, “Psusennes II and Shoshenq I,” *JEA* 79 (1993), 267–268; Dodson, *Canopic equipment*, 93–94.

kheper-Re Shoshenq I, albeit bearing a different *pronomen*.¹¹² However, he offered no evidence to support this speculation nor did he pursue it any further. This hypothesis was later uncritically adopted by Edwards,¹¹³ but roundly rejected by Kitchen,¹¹⁴ who argued convincingly that Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq is a distinct individual – Shoshenq IIA¹¹⁵ – and not Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq I.

Despite this, Jacquet-Gordon¹¹⁶ and Broekman¹¹⁷ continue to argue that Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq I was interned in NTR III under the name Heqa-kheper-Re, Shoshenq, but without any persuasive evidence as to why this change in the royal titulary should have occurred. Broekman's speculation that Shoshenq I was in fact reburied in the unused silver coffin of Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq IIA – whose body is thus now lost – only begs the question,¹¹⁸ while his proposal that a new cartonnage was made for the re-internment of Shoshenq I, but labeled with the name of Shoshenq IIA on the basis of the name on the silver coffin, seems particularly unlikely.¹¹⁹ It is of course well-known that the burial did in fact contain jewelry that clearly once belonged to Shoshenq I,¹²⁰ both before and after he became king, but these items are best explained simply as heirlooms inherited by his descendant, Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq IIA.

Thus, as it stands now there is little or no convincing evidence for the burial of Shoshenq I having been at San el-Hagar. Dodson observes that there seems to be a neat chronological block of unlocated *primary* royal burials¹²¹ running from Osorkon the Elder to Osorkon I,¹²² suggesting there may be a second, undiscovered, royal necropolis at San el-Hagar, perhaps including the tomb of Shoshenq I. Although Dodson's specific observations regarding the evidence for

¹¹² Gardiner, *Egypt of the pharaohs*, 448.

¹¹³ I.E.S. Edwards, "Egypt: From the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fourth Dynasty." In *The prehistory of the Balkans, the Middle East and the Aegean World, tenth to eighth centuries B.C.*, ed. J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger. 3rd ed. The Cambridge Ancient History 3 (part 1) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 549.

¹¹⁴ Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, §§ 93, 94, 452.

¹¹⁵ Speculations regarding the identity of Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq IIA are not pertinent here as they do not directly involve Shoshenq I. For discussion, see M. Römer, "Varia zu Psusennes 'II.' und zur 21. Dynastie," *GM* 114 (1990), 93–97; G.P.F. Broekman, "Once more Shoshenq Heqakheperre," *GM* 181 (2001), 27–37; J. von Beckerath, "Zur Rückeninschrift der Statuette Kairo CG 42192," *Orientalia* 63 [new series] (1994), 84–87; N. Dautzenberg, "Bemerkungen zu Schoschenq II., Takeloth II. und Pedubastis II.," *GM* 144 (1995), 21–29; K. Jansen-Winkel, "Historische Probleme der 3. Zwischenzeit," *JEA* 81 (1995), 145–149; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, §§ 93, 94, 452; G.P.F. Broekman, "Shoshenq Maakheperre and Shoshenq Heqakheperre: Contemplations on the question which of them (if one of the two) was identical with the High Priest of Amun, Shoshenq, Son of King Osorkon I," *GM* 176 (2000), 39–46; K. Jansen-Winkel, "Chronology of the Third Intermediate Period," 236–238.

¹¹⁶ Jacquet-Gordon, *BiOr* 32 (1975), 359.

¹¹⁷ G.P.F. Broekman, "On the identity of King Shoshenq buried in the vestibule of the tomb of Psusennes I in Tanis (NRT III): Part 1," *GM* 211 (2006), 11–20; G.P.F. Broekman, "On the identity of King Shoshenq buried in the vestibule of the tomb of Psusennes I in Tanis (NRT III): Part 2," *GM* 212 (2007), 9–28.

¹¹⁸ Broekman, *GM* 212 (2007), 20–23.

¹¹⁹ Broekman, *GM* 212 (2007), 21–22.

¹²⁰ See note 67, *supra*.

¹²¹ Dodson, *CdE* 63 (1988), 229–233. The possible reburial of Siamun in NTR IV mooted by Dodson (p. 228) is secondary in nature.

¹²² Dodson also includes Takeloth II in this group. It is now known, however, that the Takeloth interred in NTR I is Takeloth I and not Takeloth II, as was previously thought (K. Jansen-Winkel, "Thronname und Begräbnis Takelothis I.," *VA* 3 (1987), 253–258). The burial of Psusennes II is difficult to locate, but *ushabti* figurines discovered in the antechamber of NTR III at San el-Hagar suggest it was at that site (Association française d'Action artistique, *Tanis: L'Or des pharaons* ([Paris]: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères and Association française d'Action artistique, 1987), 136; Yoyotte, *BSFFT* 1 (1988), *passim*; Lull García, *Sacerdotes*, 294–296), although a Theban or Abydene burial is not entirely ruled out. In any event Psusennes II was not genetically related to the Libyan kings in this group, nor was Siamun (Lull García, *Sacerdotes*, 301–303).

Shoshenq I's (re)burial at San el-Hagar in NTR V are now known to be mistaken, his general notion of a second necropolis is not to be rejected out of hand. Nevertheless, as it seems Shoshenq I at the very least did not rule from – nor perhaps even built at (*supra*) – San el-Hagar, the supposition that he must have been buried there is probably unlikely as well.

If the insistence to locate the king's burial at San el-Hagar is set aside, other possibilities present themselves. Generally speaking, post-New Kingdom royal burials – with the Nubian Dynasty 25 being a major exception¹²³ – were made within the *temenos* of the principal temple of the residence city.¹²⁴ It could be that Shoshenq I was buried in a temple courtyard at his residence of “Per-Iset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty,” but as the exact location of this establishment is unknown, there is no way to verify if this was the case. Alternatively, if Dynasty 22 had its origins in the Libyan strongholds in the environs of Ehnasya el-Medina, as suggested above, it could be that Shoshenq I and his son Osorkon I were buried in the region.¹²⁵ Although evidence for burials of Dynasty 22 kings at Ehnasya el-Medina is presently lacking, the existence of the important necropolis of Libyan officials at the site does at least indicate the presence of royal burials there is not completely out of the question, although this is not the most probable option.¹²⁶

One location that has not been much considered heretofore as a possible location of Shoshenq's burial is the Ptah temple enclosure of Mit Rahina.¹²⁷ It is recognized that Shoshenq I built fairly widely in the area,¹²⁸ and among the building projects was almost certainly a pylon and forecourt of the Ptah temple that fronted the pylon and hypostyle hall of Seti I and Ramesses II. This monument is in all probability the “House of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hedj-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Son of Re, Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun, that is in Hut-ka-Ptah”¹²⁹ [*ḥwt nt ḥḥ rnpwt nt nsw bjty ḥd-ḥpr-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ s3 rꜥ ššnq mrj-jmn nty m ḥwt-k3-ptḥ*]

¹²³ However, the burials of the God's Wives of Amun in the temple courtyard of Medinet Habu should be considered in this light.

¹²⁴ R. Stadelmann, “Das Grab im Tempelhof: Der Typus der Königsgrobes in der Spätzeit,” *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 111–123; S.L. Goslino, “Libyan period royal burials in context,” *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995), 1–20; J. Lull García, *Las tumbas reales egipcias del Tercer Período Intermedio (dinastías XXI–XXV): Tradición y cambios*. British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 1045 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002).

¹²⁵ The burial of Shoshenq's paternal uncle, Osorkon the Elder, could likewise be located here if the existence of a familial burial place is assumed (M.A. Leahy, “The Libyan period in Egypt: An essay in interpretation,” *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 61–62; Goslino, *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995), *passim*).

¹²⁶ Indeed, there is evidence from Ehnasya el-Medina for the burials of some members of the Libyan royal family; see Jansen-Winkel *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 302–306.

¹²⁷ See the author's earlier comments in Sagrillo, *GM* 205 (2005), 95–102.

¹²⁸ Little now remains, but the evidence includes a *cavetto* cornice block discovered within the Ptah temple enclosure (R. Engelbach, M.A. Murray, and W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*. ERA 26 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1915), 33, plate 57/24; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 2 [12.8]), probably from a monumental gateway or pylon (D. Arnold, *Temples of the last pharaohs* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33). Other materials include two column fragments (G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 22 (1900), 143; C. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*. OBO 113 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 364–365 [172]; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 2–3 [12.9]) and possibly a finely carved limestone block depicting produce being offered by Nile gods (J. Yoyotte, “Note sur le bloc de Sheshonq I découvert par la Mission archéologique à Saqqara de l'Université de Pisa,” *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 12 (1989), 33–35; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 3 [12.12]). Although the latter was discovered nearby at Saqqara, its use of “Chosen of Ptah,” rather than “Chosen of Re,” within the *prænomen* of Shoshenq I hints that it originally came from the Ptah temple complex at Mit Rahina. Finally a block (lintel?) from the *wabet* of the Apis bull house at Kom el-Fakhri is known (H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum: Altägyptische Inschriften*. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlungen, 1883–1891; reprint, 1968), 817, 948–949; M. Jones, “The temple of Apis in Memphis,” *JEA* 76 (1990), plate 6; Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 3 [12.10]).

¹²⁹ *viz.*, the Ptah temple enclosure of Mit Rahina.

mentioned in an oracular decree at Karnak,¹³⁰ and perhaps later seen by Herodotos.¹³¹ It was made in parallel to the “House of Hedj-kheper-Re-in-Was<et>” [*ḥwt ḥd-ḥpr-rꜥ-m-wꜣs<t>*],¹³² which is itself known to be the forecourt and First Pylon (later replaced in Dynasty 30 by the current First Pylon) of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak. A Serapeum stela dating to late Dynasty 22¹³³ mentions personnel associated with the Memphite funerary cult of the “House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun” [*ḥwt n<t> ḥḥ rnpwt ššnq mrj-jmn*],¹³⁴ revealing that the cult was still functioning several generations after its establishment at the Ptah temple.

Given that Shoshenq I’s House of Millions of Years, as well as its associated funerary cult, was clearly located at Mit Rahina, and specifically associated with the Ptah temple enclosure, it is highly probable that the temple forecourt (equivalent to the House of Millions of Years) contained the king’s burial, particularly if the royal necropolis at San el-Hagar is taken as a model. Less likely, though perhaps possible, it may have been located at Kom al-Farikh, just west of the Ptah temple enclosure, where the tombs of crown prince Shoshenq D¹³⁵ and his son, the Chief of the Meshwesh, Takeloth B,¹³⁶ are located.

Wherever its precise location, it would be strange for the king’s funerary cult to last for several generations at Mit Rahina if it were not for the presence of a royal burial to serve as the cult’s principal focus. As a corollary, it is exceptionally improbable for the king’s burial to have been located at San el-Hagar if his funerary cult was centred at Mit Rahina.

Conclusion

As with so many issues surrounding the Third Intermediate Period, no definitive answers can be given to the questions posed in this paper. However, the arguments presented here are suggestive. The existence of a funerary cult dedicated to Shoshenq I at Mit Rahina makes it exceptionally difficult to deny that the king must have been buried in the immediate vicinity, if not directly in the forecourt of the Ptah temple complex, as suggested by the oracular decree from Karnak.¹³⁷ Moreover, this argues strongly for the king’s official residence to have been situated in the region, as patterns of post-New Kingdom royal burials indicate. However, the precise location of “Periset, the Great *Ka* of Re-Harakhty” encountered on Gebel Silsila Quarry Text 100 shall remain an enigma without the recovery of more concrete evidence.

¹³⁰ Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 11, 13–14, figure 10 (J1), lines 6, 8; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 564–567, 569–570; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 20 [12.23].

¹³¹ *The Histories*, Book 2, 136. For discussion, see K.A. Kitchen, “A note on Asychis.” In *Pyramid studies and other essays presented to I.E.S. Edwards*, ed. J.R. Baines, T.G.H. James, M.A. Leahy, and A.F. Shore. Occasional Publications 7 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1988), 148–151; A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II: Commentary* 99–182. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain 43 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 3, 87–91; K.A. Kitchen, “Towards a reconstruction of Ramesside Memphis.” In *Fragments of a shattered visage: The proceedings of the international symposium on Ramesses the Great*, ed. E. Bleiberg and R.E. Freed. Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology 1 (Memphis: Memphis State University, 1991), 92, 101.

¹³² Caminos, *JEA* 38 (1952), plate 13, line 50; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 22 [12.27]. See also lines 6–7 of Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 11, 13–14, figure 10 (J1), Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* 2, 20 [12.23], where Amun refers to his “House of Millions of Years that is in Ipet-sut” [*ḥwt nt ḥḥ rnpwt ntj jpt-swt*]. For discussion, see Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 571–575.

¹³³ Perhaps Regnal Year 2 of Pimay [*pꜣ-mjw*] (Ibrahim Aly Sayed, *BSEG* 20 (1996), 13).

¹³⁴ See note 97, *supra*, and Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 567–569.

¹³⁵ A.M. Badawi, “Das Grab des Kronprinzen Scheschonk, Sohnes Osorkon’s II. und Hohenpriester von Memphis,” *ASAE* 54 (1956), 157.

¹³⁶ A.M. Badawi, “Zwei Denkmäler des grossen Gaugrafen von Memphis, Amenophis *Ḥwjj*,” *ASAE* 44 (1944), 181, note 2; Badawi, *ASAE* 54 (1956), 158; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 81, note 81.

¹³⁷ See note 131, *supra*.

Perhaps the most potentially contentious issue revolves around the proposal to locate Dynasty 22's geographic place of origin at Ehnasya el-Medina, rather than Bubastis [Tell Basta], as recorded by Manetho. Nevertheless, a growing body of textual and archæological evidence from Ehnasya el-Medina and elsewhere suggests precisely this. The presence of five Strongholds of the Meshwesh, presumably founded as internment camps for Libyan prisoners of war during the Ramesside period, in the environs of the city are more than suggestive. It should not be forgotten that Manetho wrote over three-hundred years after the foundation of Dynasty 22, a period that remains today frustratingly obscure; it may not have been much more clear during Manetho's own *floruit*. For this reason alone it may be wise to reconsider what is implied by evidence contemporary with the Third Intermediate Period.



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This volume contains the Proceedings of a conference held in October 2007 at Leiden University on the Libyan Period in Egypt.

The study of the Third Intermediate Period, and most notably its chronology, has become stuck in controversies ever since publications by David Aston, Anthony Leahy, John Taylor and others raised doubts as to the chronology presented in Kitchen's seminal study *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (1972). There had been only a single conference held on the Libyan dynasties before, organized by Leahy at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 1986 under the title *Libya and Egypt*. There was clearly a need to discuss the controversial aspects of the chronology and culture of the period with all the parties involved.

The timely nature of the conference was confirmed by the enthusiastic response from those colleagues who were invited to participate. In the end, a total of 24 speakers presented in front of an audience of some 120 scholars and students hailing from

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